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ers, but as the dictate of enlightened self-interest? Treaties among the great powers of Europe for proportionate disarmament, we may hope, will before long be looked upon with favor; and nations, once disarmed, will be slow to give and take insults from one another, to contract wars of ambition or aggression, or to resort to arms for the adjustment of the slightly deranged balance of power. Only a just cause and a strong cause will induce an appeal to the sword; and a vast movement will have been made by the civilized world toward the era foretold in the sure word of prophecy, when nations "shall learn war no more."

CONTEMPORARY WARS.

(1853 — 1866.)

BY M. PAUL LEROY BEAULIEU.

The interest lately awakened in France on the question of Peace and War is already leading to some valuable publications on the subject. Among these is one by M. Beau lieu on *Contemporary Wars*, or those of the last fourteen years in Europe and the United States, not attempting a full view of their rise, progress or general results, but chiefly their "material losses both of money and of men." From a translation of the work in the London *Herald of Peace* we condense the main figures and facts.

A minute exactness is often difficult to attain. There is an abundance of official documents respecting the loss of men; but issued too soon after the war, they are sometimes contradictory and inaccurate. As regards the two great wars in the Crimea and in the United States, and also as to the Schleswig war, we have been enabled to attain complete precision. For these wars have been described in large and comprehensive histories, in which the losses have been studied, enumerated and classified, systematically and scientifically. The official reports of the Crimean war presented to the British Parliament, the remarkable book of Dr. Chenu, the various memorials composing the *Medical and Chirurgical History of the American Rebellion*, the very recent publication by Dr. Læfleur on the *Schleswig Campaign*, are works of scientific exactness. Unfortunately the documents respecting other wars possess neither similar value nor authority.

As regards finances, there is a means of calculating financial losses in vogue with our statesmen, which is to add together the various loans contracted on account of a war, and to take the sum of these different loans for the amount of its expenses. Nothing is more simple, but nothing is less exact. In fact, it often happens that sums of money borrowed in view of a war are only partially expended upon such war; but oftener the sum of the loans is very far from being equivalent to the sum of its expenses. Thus, the expenses of England for the Crimean war were four times greater than the loan which she contracted during that struggle. The only rational means of arriving at moderate precision is to study carefully the war-budgets during the contest, and compare these with those of the preceding period of peace. But there are States which have none, or, rather, had none. Thus the expenses of Russia during the Crimean war will always be difficult to calculate. Certain wars, also, being very recent, we do not possess their complete budgets of expenditure. In some countries it takes a long time to complete them. Even when we get the total expenses of a war to the belligerents, we are still far from knowing all the expenses, even the public ones, which the war has involved. We must also study the budgets of neutral nations; for war in our day has this particular feature, that it strikes a blow at the

finances even of neutral nations, and forces them into an attitude of anxiety, which involves large armaments. Again, in some countries, we must extend our researches still further. Any one who should estimate as the expenses of the Northern States of America during the Secession war only the expense they incurred as members of the Union, without taking account of those incurred by the separate states and districts in their preliminary outlay upon volunteers, and their equipments of every kind, must acknowledge that he has not arrived at the total, and that his estimate would be incomplete. Nor is this all. There are some countries where the initiative efforts of individuals are on a large scale, and where the private contributions towards war are a very important accompaniment of the public expense. The gifts furnished to the Czar by the Russian aristocracy, and all that English and American patriotism so largely contributed as offerings, equipments, or supplies, should also be reckoned. As regards Russia, or England, these private contributions amount to a hundred million francs, and as regards America, to a thousand millions.

But is even this all? By no means. All the private losses, the ravage of the lands, the spoiling of crops; in case of siege or maritime war, the ruin of cities, and the destruction of shipping, — all these losses, impossible to be estimated, must be always kept in view, although they cannot be calculated. Nor is even this all; for by the side of these losses, we must take account of the losses involved in the stagnation of business, the dulness of commerce, and the stoppage of industry. All these ruinous effects, which the curse of war accumulates, escape our statistics; but they are not the least part of that curse.

CRIMEAN WAR.

Loss of Life. — The Crimean war is the most murderous of recent European wars. In estimating its loss of men, we shall chiefly take for our guide the report of Dr. Chenu. This valuable document possesses the double merit of being official and scientific; it emanates, in fact, from the Ministry of War, and it obtained from the Academy of Sciences the grand prize for Statistics.

The French army had to struggle against three great dangers — the cholera, the enemy's fire, and the scurvy. In the month of September, 1854, our army had not yet seen the enemy; but it had already lost 8,084, men, chiefly through cholera. Throughout the campaign disease carried off four times as many victims as the Russian fire. Ambulances in the Crimea and hospitals at Constantinople and elsewhere received 436,144 attacked by cholera and various other diseases, while 80,590 more reported killed or dead, and 15,025 on their return to France died of wounds or diseases during the war.

From these figures we can calculate the proportion of lives lost. The troops sent by France at different times amounted to 309,268, and hence the losses were nearly one-third of the whole. Only 10,240 are said to have been killed by the enemy; a number nearly one-third larger sank under their wounds; and this leaves 75,000 w^o died of cholera, scurvy and other diseases. During the first four months, the cholera carried off 8,084 men; and M. Jacquot attributes to scurvy one-third of the total loss. The 20,000 men who died on the field of battle, or in consequence of their wounds, had at least obtained a speedy death; but these 75,000 victims of cholera, typhus, and hospital corruption, were obliged to undergo all the delays, sufferings and miseries of a death of unmitigated horror.

If 95,615 Frenchmen were carried off by death, are we to believe this was the limit of our losses? Are we to believe that the 214,000 soldiers who escaped death in this disastrous expedition, returned to France in the same con-

dition in which they left it? Are we to believe that those 30,000 wounded men, whose wounds were not mortal, those 10,000 cholera patients who were discharged from the Turkish hospitals, and all those unfortunate beings tainted and emaciated by scurvy, dysentery, and many other frightful diseases, brought back to France, to agriculture, to industry, or to national service, the strength of which they had been deprived? Are we to believe that amongst the 214,000 survivors, who have spent so many days in hospitals, there are not a great proportion — a quarter, at the lowest estimate, probably a third, and perhaps half — whose health will always remain enfeebled, shattered, and prone to relapse? What an enormous and incalculable loss of strength!

Here follow the losses of the English army:—

	Received into Ambulances or Hospitals.	Killed or Dead.
Wounded,	18,283	—
Died in hospitals in consequence of wounds,	—	1,846
Killed on the field of battle,	—	2,756
Fever patients and otherwise diseased,	144,410	—
Died in hospital,	—	16,290
Died at sea or elsewhere,	—	1,280
Total,	162,693	22,172

A COMMON MISTAKE.

Wendell Phillips, in one of his earliest speeches, said, "If I had adopted what are called 'peace principles,' I might lament the circumstances of this case; but I believe in the *right and duty of magistrates to execute the laws.*" This implies that peace principles forbid the enforcement of law against wrong-doers, and condemn the legitimate operations of civil government as incompatible with the Bible.

Nothing could well be more untrue of peace-men and their principles. Here and there, indeed, you may find a peace-man so extremely radical as to deem it well-nigh as unchristian to punish wrong-doers in accordance with the law, as it is for them to break the law, and often seems more severe upon a court that condemns a murderer to the gallows than upon the murderer himself. Such nonsense, however, is rare, and not chargeable at all upon the principles of peace, and seldom on even the most radical peace men.

Facts, as well as reason, will fully confirm this statement. There are no stancher, more reliable supporters of government than the strong friends of peace. Their principles, as well as their general character, compel them to be so. They believe, as all men of sense must, in the necessity of civil government, in its right to enact laws for the general good, and in the duty of rulers to execute those laws by a humane yet effective enforcement of its penalties. There cannot well be a grosser misconception than to suppose, that by peace they mean connivance at crime, an effort to screen wrong-doers from merited punishment, or any denial to government of the right to employ all the physical force that may be requisite for a due execution of its laws. Government is the guardian of the public weal; and such an enforcement of law against its violators is the chief, perhaps the only means it can use in the last resort for this purpose. If a government cannot, will not, does not in fact do this, it is recreant to its high trust, and must in time be superseded by one that will.

Still we find the idea strangely prevalent, that the strict principles of peace are somehow or other incompatible with the legitimate, indispensable operations of government. Not at all. It is in these that government finds its fullest,

strongest support. There is no loyalty to government and law so thoroughly reliable as that which springs from the principles of peace.

'But how can this be? The gospel bids us not return evil for evil, but overcome evil with good; and all punishment does return evil for evil, an *intentional* infliction of evil, suffering of some sort, upon the law-breaker in return for the evil he has done.' Just so; and why should it not be? Without this, there can be no penalty, nor indeed any government; for all government, whether human or divine, is a code of laws to be obeyed, and of penalties to be inflicted on the disobedient. All this seems essential to the very idea of government in any form.

'This may be law; but is it gospel?' Why not? Does the gospel contradict, reverse or nullify law? Does it allow no penalty for crime, no exercise of power to restrain or punish crime? Does any part of the Bible forbid the condign punishment of wrong-doers?

'I will not say it does; but the sermon on the mount, and some other teachings of Christ and his apostles would *seem* to contradict it.' If so, it can *only* seem; for the right and duty to punish wrong-doers are directly or indirectly inculcated throughout the Bible. In the Old Testament, the case is clear; and in the New the writings especially of Paul and Peter are full and decisive on this point. Strict non-resistance to sin, to all wrong, is nowhere commanded or allowed in the Bible; but we are required to resist in every proper way possible all forms of error and sin. Christ did so, God is continually doing so, and we are bound to do so to the utmost extent of our ability. So every Christian believes; and the term *non-resistance* conveys to most minds the false idea, that it is wrong to resist evil. It is not wrong but clearly, eminently right. We ought to make in the *right way*, by moral Christian means, all the resistance in our power. So every Christian, so every man of sense believes; and the watchword *non-resistance* says in fact what no one, not even the most radical Quaker, really believes. We endorse what we suppose he means by the term, but object to the term itself as sure to mislead. We are all bound to resist in every proper way whatever is wrong; and the only question is, how shall this be done?

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOSTON, MASS., JANUARY, 1869.

INCREASED OPERATIONS.

The following brief statement, sent in the form of a Circular to a few of our friends, we now lay before all our readers, and bespeak for it their favorable consideration:—

TO THE FRIENDS OF PEACE:—

You know well how difficult it has been, the last eight years, to do much in our cause beyond keeping it alive, and ready to renew its work with redoubled zeal on the return of a reliable peace. That time, we trust, has now come, or surely coming, through the land; and accordingly we have made arrangements for a much wider and more effective prosecution of our cause than ever before by a large increase of our publications, more than tenfold in some departments, by sending forth Lecturers, and Colporteurs of our publications, and by establishing a WESTERN DEPARTMENT under a *District Secretary*, who has already entered